

Message Text

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ACTION SP-02

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FM USDEL SECRETARY IN MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTO 01123

CONTACT ADDRESSEES OOB SUNDAY JANUARY 25

FOR S/P PETTERSON AND HILL

THRU BARTHLOMEW

FROM LORD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.) A.O.

SUBJECT: WYOMING SPEECH AND ANGOLA STATEMENT

1. THE SECRETARY HAS NOT YET READ THE WYOMING DRAFT, WHICH BY THE WAY IS AN EXCELLENT EFFORT. HE HAS INDICATED IN ANY EVENT, HOWEVER, THAT HE WANTS OUR DOMESTIC SITUATION TO BE A MAJOR THEME IN THE SPEECH. THUS HILL SHOULD BE THINKING ABOUT CONSIDERABLE ELABORATION ON THIS THEME. HE MENTIONED THAT WE SHOULD SAY THAT OUR MAJOR PROBLEM IS OUR DOMESTIC WEAKNESS AND LOSS OF AUTHORITY. WE HAVE HAD A SUCCESSFUL FOREIGN POLICY AND ALL THE BASIC ELEMENTS WERE PUT INTO PLACE. BUT WE ARE DISSIPATING OUR STRENGTH. OUR IRRESPONSIBLE DEBATE IS HURTING US AND UNDERMINING THE AUTHORITY NEEDED TO CONDUCT FOREIGN POLICY. THERE IS A NEED FOR CENTRAL AUTHORITY. IF PRESENT TRENDS CONTINUE, IRREMEDIAL DAMAGE WILL BE INFLICTED ETC. OBVIOUSLY THESE ARE MAINLY EVOCATIVE THOUGHTS, AND YOU SHOULD SPIN OUT ALL THE FAMILIAR ELEMENTS WITH REGARD TO DOMESTIC SITUATION. THIS CAN WAIT UNTIL MONDAY OR FURTHER

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INSTRUCTIONS CONCERNING THE SPEECH, BUT I WANTED

TO GIVE YOU ADVANCE WARNING SO THAT YOU CAN BEGIN THINKING ABOUT NEW MATERIAL.

2. THE SECRETARY IS PLEASED AT THE GREAT IMPROVEMENT IN THE ANGOLA STATEMENT FOR THE SENATE SUB-COMMITTEE. HE BELIEVES IT IS A MUCH BETTER DOCUMENT, BUT HAS OUTLINED THE FOLLOWING THEMES WHICH HE WANTS INCLUDED. SINCE WE WILL NEED A NEW DRAFT BY LATE MONDAY, PETTERSON SHOULD PROBABLY BEGIN WORKING AWAY ON SUNDAY. YOU SHOULD CONTINUE OF COURSE TO WORK WITH AF AS WELL AS HILL.

3. BASICALLY HE WANTS THE STATEMENT TO HAVE A SOMBER AND NON-DEFENSIVE TONE WHICH CLEARLY LAYS OUT OUR APPROACH, EXPLAINS THE RAMIFICATIONS OF OUR FAILURE TO ACT DEVISIVELY BECAUSE OF CONGRESSIONAL ACTION, AND KNOCKS DOWN THE VARIOUS CRITICISMS THAT HAVE BEEN PUT FORTH. FOLLOWING ARE THE POINTS HE WANTS TO HAVE MADE, IN ADDITION TO THE GOOD MATERIAL WHICH YOU ALREADY HAVE. SOME OF THIS IS NEW AND SOME REPRESENTS ELABORATION OF WHAT YOU ALREADY HAVE. YOU SHOULD USE YOUR OWN JUDGMENT ON THE ORDER AND STRUCTURING OF THESE VARIOUS THEMES WHICH I'M GIVING YOU IN NO PARTICULAR SEQUENCE:

-- WE SHOULD ANSWER THE PRETENSE THAT CONGRESS SUDDENLY FOUND US INVOLVED IN A CONFLICT. EIGHT COMMITTEES HAVE BEEN BRIEFED ON OCCASIONS. ATTACHED FOR THE RECORD IS A LIST OF ALL THE BRIEFINGS THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE ETC.

-- EXPLAIN WHY WE ATTEMPTED TO ACT COVERTLY. WE DID NOT WANT TO MAKE THIS A CONFRONTATION, OR DEEP AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT, OR A TEST CASE. WE CAN NOT FINANCE THIS TYPE OF ACTIVITY OVERTLY WITHOUT ENCOUNTERING PROBLEMS OF BUDGET CATEGORIES, SPECIFIC CONGRESSIONAL AUTHORIZATIONS ETC.

-- OUR ACTIONS DO NOT AMOUNT TO BEING INVOLVED IN A CONFLICT. RATHER THEY REPRESENT AMERICAN SUPPORT
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TO OUR FRIENDS AT THEIR REQUEST.

-- WE SHOULD HIT THE CUBAN INVOLVEMENT MORE. THE CUBANS HAVE SENT AN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE TO ANOTHER CONTINENT WHILE THE U.S. CAN'T EVEN SEND MONEY, ETC.

-- WE SHOULD ANSWER THE ARGUMENT THAT ANGOLA IS NOT AN AREA OF PRIMARY IMPORTANCE TO US. CHALLENGES

OFTEN COME AT DIFFICULT POINTS AND WE ARE NOT AT
LIBERTY TO CHOOSE THEM. ONLY THE ATTACKERS CAN
PICK CONVENIENT PLACES.

-- THE ANGOLA OUTCOME WILL HAVE PROFOUND
REPERCUSSIONS IN OTHER COUNTRIES. THIS WILL CERTAINLY
BE TRUE IN AFRICA, AND GENERALLY AROUND THE WORLD WITH
REGARD TO PERCEPTIONS OF U.S. PERFORMANCE.

-- WE SHOULD ANSWER THE ARGUMENTS THAT WE SHOULD
DO OTHER THINGS IN ORDER DIRECTLY TO CONFRONT THE SOVIET
UNION. FIRST OF ALL, MANY OF OUR TOOLS TO DO SO HAVE
BEEN TAKEN AWAY BY CONGRESSIONAL ACTIONS, E.G., CREDITS,
TRADE ETC. IN ANY EVENT, THESE TAKE TIME TO TAKE
EFFECT AND DO NOT SAVE THE COUNTRY CONCERNED. SALT IS
OF OVERRIDING MUTUAL INTEREST AS WELL AS IN THE WORLD
INTEREST; IT IS NOT A FAVOR WE GRANT TO MOSCOW.
FARMERS SHOULD NOT BE ASKED TO GIVE UP BILLIONS OF
DOLLARS OF BUSINESS BECAUSE CONGRESS WON'T APPROPRIATE
TENS OF MILLIONS, ETC.

-- IN THE ENTIRE POST WAR PERIOD, THERE HAS NEVER
BEEN A STOPPING OF THE SOVIETS WHEN THERE WAS NO LOCAL
BALANCE OF FORCES. THIS IS THE FIRST TIME THAT THE
SOVIETS HAVE MOVED MILITARILY OUTSIDE OF THEIR
OWN SPHERES WITHOUT THE U.S. REACTING. THIS IS THE
FIRST TIME THAT CONGRESS HAS HALTED EXECUTIVE ACTION
IN MEETING SUCH A THREAT.

-- WE SHOULD GENERALLY TAKE THE OFFENSIVE
CONCERNING THE DESCRIPTION OF OUR POLICY. WE HAVE
TRIED TO CREATE A LOCAL BALANCE, AND WE MOUNTED A
DIPLOMATIC OFFENSIVE WITH OVERTURES TO THE SOVIETS.
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THE SOVIETS HAD STOPPED THEIR AIRLIFT FROM DECEMBER 9
TO (CHECK THE FACTS). OUR ACTIVITIES WERE
DESIGNED TO CULMINATE IN THE OAU MEETING. BUT OUR
PROMISING EFFORTS WERE HALTED IN MID-FLIGHT BY OUR
DOMESTIC DEBATE.

4. AGAIN, DESPITE THE ADDITIONS NEEDED ABOVE, THE
SECRETARY WAS APPRECIATIVE OF THE SUBSTANTIAL
IMPROVEMENT IN THE STATEMENT.
KISSINGER

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